Equal Rights

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SATURDAY,
SEPTEMBER 13, 1924

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CONGRESS

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Miss Oliver Twist

Political Leader—"The National Woman's Party is asking for more!"

Feminist Notes

The Woman Suffrage Party Of Cuba

THE National Woman Suffrage Party of Cuba announces in its official organ, issued semi-monthly and entitled *"El Sufragista,"* the program of the organization for the coming year. It is as follows:

I. To obtain the enfranchisement of Cuban women and to obtain all reforms of the Civil Code which may be necessary to establish absolute equality, political, civil, economic and social between men and women.

II. To make education free and compulsory, to the end that illiteracy in Cuba be ended so that the people may know how to elect their Government officials at honest elections.

III. To oppose vagrancy, alcoholism and all other vices which tend to degrade the human species.

IV. To unite with all international organizations or leagues which are working for the elimination of war in the future, to the end that all questions between nations may be settled through diplomatic channels.

V. To combat the white slave traffic, to assist the woman who has been immoral and to give protection to the illegitimate child.

Equal Pay In Great Britain

THE British Parliament discussed the question of equal pay for men and women civil servants at a recent session (August 6th). Mr. Graham, financial secretary to the treasury, stated on behalf of the Government that the financial situation was such as to make impossible the enormous increase in expenditure which the granting of equal pay to men and women civil servants would involve.

Miss Jewson, a member of Parliament, raised the question of equal pay and was supported by Lady Astor. Miss Jewson asked Mr. Graham whether the Government's position was not contrary to the spirit of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919? Lady Astor asked whether it was not contrary to the election promises of the Labor Party. Mr. Graham replied that the Government had to consider whether, under existing conditions, this very large expenditure could be faced, and the decision was that it could not be faced. Lady Astor retorted that the Labor Government should have considered that point when they were making their promises.

Woman Warden In England

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, in Leicester, England, appointed Miss Pell Smith as warden for the coming year, and is credited with being the first church to appoint a woman to such a position.

Women Shorthand Writers

THE question of the admission of women as parliamentary stenographers gave rise to an animated debate at the Fifth International Shorthand Congress, lately held at Lausanne, Switzerland.

Apart from the Swiss contingent, there were 38 foreign delegates present, representing 11 different countries. The following proposals were put forward by Mme. Estoup of Paris: That women should not be excluded from parliamentary shorthand staffs, but should be admitted on the same conditions as men; that in all administrations employing a numerous personnel there should be two distinct sections—one for stenographers, the other for simple typists, the salaries of the former being sensibly superior to those of the latter; that women should not compete with men by accepting lower salaries for the same work.

The principal opponent to women in parliamentary work was Dr. Robert Fuchs of Dresden, Germany, while E. Wyler, stenographer in the Swiss Federal Chambers, deprecated discussion of the matter, on the ground that the question was both social and political. Eventually, however, the proposals, in the final form given above, were passed unanimously, save for one abstention.

Women Of Cochin Granted Vote

COCHIN is the first State in India to sweep aside all sex disqualification and to allow women not only to vote, but to be eligible for the election or nomination to membership in its reformed Legislative Council.

The women are awakening to their interests, and at a meeting recently held, where over 400 women were present, they resolved to ask the Government to allocate at least four of its 15 nominated seats to women of the State, pointing out that there are many subjects connected with the lives of women and children which demand women representatives.

Shepherd-Towner Bill

FEDERAL and State governments expended $1,688,047.12 to promote the welfare of mothers and babies under the Federal Maternity and Infancy Act, known as the Shepherd-Towner Bill, during the first fifteen months following its passage.

This statement was made public by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, in connection with the forthcoming first official report of the administration of the Maternity and Infancy Act, passed by Congress November 21, 1921.

Federal grants to the states during this period for maternity and infancy work totaled $1,046,523.56. State appropriations made to match Federal funds totaled $641,523.56. In 1922 payments were made to 43 states, 28 of which matched the Federal grant in full or in part. In 1923, 41 states received grants for maternity and infancy work, 35 of which matched the allotment in full or in part. By June 30, 1923, all state legislatures had met and the appropriation acts passed enabled 40 states to co-operate during 1924, all but Kansas, Illinois, Louisiana, Vermont, Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. By action of the state legislature in July, Louisiana, for the first time, accepted the Act and will receive its share of 1925 Federal funds.

The Maternity and Infancy Act has already demonstrated its value, according to the report, in that it has:

(1) Stimulated state activities in maternal and infant hygiene.

(2) Maintained the principle of local initiative and responsibility.

(3) Improved the quality of the work being done for mothers and babies by disseminating through a central source—the Federal Government—the results of scientific research and methods of work which have been found to operate successfully.

(4) Increased state appropriations with the passage of the Act. From the appropriation for the fiscal year 1922, 15 states were able to accept only the $5000 unmatched funds. Six states were able to accept only the $5000 unmatched from the Federal appropriation for the fiscal year 1923. All of the states co-operating under the Act either have already accepted more than the $5000 unmatched allotment from the 1924 Federal appropriation or will be able to do so. Moreover, since the Maternity and Infancy Act became effective, 33 states accepting it have made definite increases in their own appropriations for the welfare of mothers and babies.

State activities under the Act have included the employment of physicians, public health nurses, dentists, dieticians, health teachers and social workers, on staffs of health departments; education of the public through lectures, demonstrations, exhibits, films, etc.; maternity consultations or centers; mothers' classes, correspondence courses and other forms of educational work for mothers; training and supervision of midwives; health conferences; dental clinics; nutrition classes; inspection of maternity and children's homes. Much of the work has been directed toward taking to the rural mother and baby the health facilities which the city mother has had for some time.

News of the Campaign

WOMAN'S PARTY campaigners put in a busy time last week strengthening the position of the four Pennsylvania candidates in the "Women for Congress" campaign. Petitions were circulated to place three of the candidates on the La Follette ticket at the fall elections, as well as on the ticket that nominated them.

The La Follette committee was visited by the Woman's Party campaigners and the endorsements were secured. Voters in the congressional districts of the candidates were then visited and in a few days the requisite number of signatures had been obtained. Now Mrs. Jessie Collett of Philadelphia, Democratic nominee for the second district, is also on the La Follette ticket at the request of the necessary petitioners. Mrs. Jennie Dornblum of Philadelphia, Socialist nominee for the third district, is on the La Follette ticket with her necessary petitioners, and Mrs. Elizabeth Culbertson of Meadville, Pa., Prohibition candidate for the twenty-ninth district, is also on the La Follette ticket with her necessary signatures.

The obtaining of these signatures within the given time was no small task. All signatures had to be witnessed by a notary public, and the workers usually collected five voters at a time to sign before a notary in the immediate vicinity. In one section of Mrs. Dornblum's district a notary who had at first felt no interest in the campaign whatever, and had even refused to sign the petition, became so deeply interested in the "Women for Congress" movement and what it stands for, that he went out with the workers to find more signers. Members of his family took the petitions to their friends and offered to see that these signers, especially the women, register before the election so that they may vote in due order.

THE work of the week was strenuous for the campaigners, but the result was doubly worth the effort. In addition to securing the necessary signatures, they were given the opportunity of sounding the attitude of the average voter on the "Women for Congress" idea. Interest was quickly awakened and men as well as women responded to the new idea with enthusiasm. Many women who seemed to have no interest in politics whatever, who seemed to have lost interest in everything in the dull monotony of home-making and child-bearing under adverse conditions, awakened to the idea that women would at last have a chance to work for women's interests through the highest law-making body of the land, and that the interests of the children in the home could best be served by women taking an interest in the questions of public welfare.

ANITA POLLITZER, national secretary of the Woman's Party, is now visiting the four women who have been nominated by the various political parties in other parts of the country to ascertain if they will support the Equal Rights Amendment and a general feminist program.

The nominees whom Miss Pollitzer will see are Mrs. Phoebe Sutliff of Warren, Ohio, Democrat; Mrs. Mary Ward Hart of Benton, Ill., Democratic candidate for Congressman at large; Mrs. Mary Giles Howard of Chattanooga, Tenn., Republican, and Miss Nellie Kline of Larned, Kans., Democrat.

Message From Hawaii

Honolulu, Hawaii,
August 11, 1924.

DEAR National Woman's Party:

Replying to your invitation to the Election Policy Conference, August 15th, at Westport, let me say that my whole soul longs to attend. However, I cannot; —but away off here I realize that the Woman's Party leaders are the ones who see the light—that we must *force* our way to Equal Rights.

"Women for Congress" is so entirely possible.

Always yours,
ESTELLE BAKER.

WOMAN'S PARTY workers are also assisting in Colorado in Lillian Kerr's campaign for the Democratic nomination in the primaries. Dr. Caroline Spencer, member of the national council of the Woman's Party, is the campaign manager, and Margaret Whittemore, another member of the national council; Ernestine Parsons, a member of the Colorado committee; Rowena Dashwood, national organizer, and Mrs. S. H. B. Gray, state treasurer, are organizing the district. Mrs. Kerr has taken as her slogan, "Give Colorado a Congresswoman," and the idea embraced therein has brought her a large support among the women of the state.

Mrs. Culbertson, one of the Pennsylvania candidates, who has an attractive country home outside of Meadville, is being assisted in her campaign by her four grown sons, who are all lawyers in and about that community. Mrs. Culbertson has been actively interested in prohibition work for many years, and was an active campaigner for the prohibition amendment before its passage. She avers that woman's entrance into politics will be a purifying and uplifting influence, and that it is necessary for them to take their stand in Congress that they may use their influence at the very source of legislation.

Mrs. Collett, another candidate, has been identified with political movements before this. She has been actively connected with the Democratic state committees and at one time held the nomination for the state treasureship. She is an eager supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment and feels particularly keenly on the subject as it appertains to industrial workers. She has made a study of conditions among the working classes. In her district she is running against Representative George Graham, Republican, who has held his chair in Congress for many years. Mr. Graham is chairman of the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives, which, probably more than any other committee, holds the fate of the Equal Rights Amendment in its power. Mr. Graham was a member of this same committee at the time that the Woman Suffrage Amendment was in its hands, and was one of the enemies of the amendment. His district is a strong Republican territory and no Democrat has ever before been accorded even a chance of winning. Yet the "Women for Congress" idea has brought Mrs. Collett's candidacy to the fore as an important question, and with the changing population of the district and with the growing tendency among women to support women, her campaign may be successful.

Mrs. Dornblum, another of the candidates, has long been identified with progressive thought. In the suffrage campaign she was an active worker. She has been in business for herself many years and knows working conditions among the masses. She favors the Equal Rights Amendment as a means of removing discriminations and unfair competition between men and women.

Miss Van Skite of Norristown, the fourth woman candidate in Pennsylvania, has been a teacher in the schools of Pennsylvania for thirty-five years and has always been interested in the welfare of women. Her contact with mothers and children through her long school work has made her well acquainted with women's problems.

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OBJECT OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

To remove all forms of the subjection of women.

THE LUCRETIA MOTT AMENDMENT

"Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation"

[Senate Joint Resolution Number 21.
House Joint Resolution Number 75.]

Introduced in the Senate, December 10, 1923, by Senator Charles E. Curtis.
Introduced in the House of Representatives, December 13, 1923, by Representative D. R. Anthony.

Legislatures Or Congress

TODAY when women are seeking to gain equal control of life with men through representation in Congress, they are being told by some that women should seek fuller representation in state legislatures before attempting to acquire seats in Congress. This might be true if Congress and the states dealt with the same problems. But they do not.

The national government has a definite sphere of action quite distinct from that of the states. The states have nothing to do with questions of peace and war, the League of Nations, the World Court, the national prohibition enforcement laws, the national maternity law, and many others of great interest to women. The national government, moreover, is gradually taking over the determination of many questions formerly within the province of the states. This is done by use of the clause in the constitution which permits Congress to make laws necessary for carrying into effect its delegated powers and by amendment to the constitution.

As the national government increases its scope, taking under its control matters which seriously affect the lives of all citizens, it is more and more important that women share the power exercised by that government. It is vitally important that women begin now to establish their claim to such power. This can be done only by a definite organized campaign to place women in Congress. Placing women in the state legislatures alone will not enable women to deal adequately with the problems affecting their lives and the lives of their families. Women must be in both the legislatures and Congress.

Realization

WITH the "Women for Congress" campaign a materialized fact, and with women candidates in various parts of the country striving to win election to Congress, imagination has been given free play. Humorists bandy the idea about with doleful contraction of lips and pathetic drooping of eyes, of women in positions of legislative supremacy. Serious-minded thinkers play with the idea just as freely, though with a slightly different twist.

The nomination of Mrs. Ferguson for the governorship of Texas is an added stimulant to the discussion. Even in their jokes men had hardly visualized a woman in such a position. She might, under extraordinary circumstances favored by luck, secure a place with men and among men in the legislatures, or even in Congress, but to stand by herself at the head of the state! That was unthinkable!

Yet there are those who have already considered the possibility of a woman vice-president. Well, the vice-presidency might not be so impossible, for she would still be under the command of a man in higher office. But President? The highest position the land can offer? And with no over-man? Again unthinkable!

Yet one leading magazine has sent out questionnaires to leading feminists asking why a woman should or should not be President. That magazine evidently does not find the idea unthinkable.

Why should not a woman, well qualified for leadership, take her place at the head of a nation, as she has by slow degrees taken it in many instances at the head of the home, the school, the church, the educational board, the business institution, the justice court, the city, the county, and now, maybe, the state?

Surely the realization is coming nearer and nearer that leadership is based on the qualities of judgment, personality, tact, understanding, self-control and guiding power, rather than on the mere incident or accident of sex.

The Equal Rights Amendment

By Doris Stevens

Reprinted from the Forum (August Number)

Editor's Note: Miss Stevens is a member of the National Council and one of the Founders of the Woman's Party. She was one of the leading workers in the suffrage campaign and has been an active worker in the present campaign for Equal Rights. She presided at the business sessions of the "Women for Congress" Conference at Westport, August 16. She is the author of "Jailed for Freedom" (a history of the Woman's Party's fight for the vote from 1913 to 1919.)

WHEN women finally got the right to vote, after seventy-five years of agitation in the United States, many good citizens sighed with relief and said, "Now that's over. The woman problem is disposed of." But was it? Exactly what do women want now? Just this. They ask the same rights, in law and in custom, with which every man is now endowed through the accident of being born a male. Frail and inadequate as these rights may be, compared to those rights we would like to see enjoyed by all men, women are nevertheless still deprived of many of them. To establish equality between men and women in law and in custom is the task undertaken by the National Woman's Party, an organization composed of women diverse in political, religious and economic faith, but united on the platform of improving the position of women.

THERE is not a single state in the Union in which men and women live under equal protection of the law. There is not a state which does not in some respects still reflect toward women the attitude of either the old English Common Law or the Napoleonic Code. Woman is still conceived to be in subjection to, and under the control of the husband, if married, or of the male members of the family, if unmarried. In most of the states the father and mother have been made equal guardians of their children, but many of these states still deny the mother equal rights to the earnings and services of the children. Among the poor this is often a serious handicap to the mother. In New York fathers are preferred to mothers as controllers of the services, earnings and real estate of the children. In two states the father can still will away the custody of the child from the mother. In two states the earnings of the wife outside the home belond to the husband. In forty states the husband owns the services of his wife in the home. In most of these states this means that the husband recovers the damages for the loss of these services, should the wife meet with an injury. A wife then cannot collect for her own suffering, for in the eyes of such laws it is not the wife who is injured, but the husband is assumed to be injured through the loss of her services to him. More than half the states do not permit women to serve on juries. Some legislators oppose jury service for women because of "moral hazard" of deliberating in a room with men. Other legislators favor jury service for women, for it means extending to women a service which men are seldom willing to perform. In only a third of the states is prostitution a crime for the male as well as the female.

What Women Are Thinking

KATHERINE ANTHONY

IN 'FEMINISM IN GERMANY AND SCANDINAVIA"

"THE woman movement of the civilized world wants much the same thing in whatever language its demands are expressed. In more or less unconscious cooperation, the women of the civilized nations have from the first worked for similar ends and common interests. Beyond all superficial differences and incidental forms, the vision of the emancipated woman wears the same features whether she be hailed as frau, fru, or woman. The disfranchisement of a whole sex, * * * has bred in half the population an unconscious internationalism."

With the removal of all legal discriminations against women solely on account of sex, women will possess with men:

Equal control of their children.
Equal control of their property.
Equal control of their earnings.
Equal right to make contracts.
Equal citizenship rights.
Equal inheritance rights.
Equal control of national, state and local government.
Equal opportunities in schools and universities.
Equal opportunities in government service.
Equal opportunities in professions and industries.
Equal pay for equal work.

Of course, no law on earth can compel a woman to take her inheritance, for instance, if she prefers to give it to her brother or to some one else. But such an act would then become voluntary, not compulsory. No law can compel a woman to sit in the cabinet or act as ambassador if she does not wish to do so. But neither the law nor any other human-made restriction will, under a regime of equality, be able to prevent her from doing either of these things if she so chooses.

THE plan of action is the next point to consider. The National Woman's Party, out of its experience in amending the national constitution granting universal suffrage to women, proposes to secure the adoption of the further amendment now before Congress: "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The Federal method is preferred to the state-by-state method for the following reasons: All broad, general principles governing a country should be written into the supreme law of the land. National action is more dignified, and the more intelligent road to pursue; five hundred and thirty-one men in Congress are more easily moved than the entire electorate. A national campaign unites the resources of women, whereas state-by-state action divides the resources of women and makes their work infinitely more wasteful. Time and money are important factors. In a century, with vast sums expended, each separate state statute could eventually be changed to establish legal equality. But why should women take the long, tedious, expensive route when a shorter one lies before them? Each gain by state action in any given state can be taken away by a subsequent legislature through repeal, as has already twice happened in the case of state laws. Gains to be safeguarded and made permanent must be written into the national constitution. Once passed by Congress and ratified by the state legislatures, all existing discriminatory state laws will have to conform to the new Federal amendment, just as did the existing state laws when the national suffrage amendment was ratified. Furthermore, it will prevent new sex discriminations from being written into the law.

IN so far as opposition to the foregoing plan has crystallized at all, three main objections stand out. First, that change in the laws should come slowly, statute by statute. Our answer to this objection is found in the preceding paragraph on Federal action. Second, that maternity legislation and widows' pensions will be wiped out. Now maternity legislation is designed to assist a special group of women under special circumstances. It is not special legislation for *women;* it is

for *mothers*. All women are not mothers. All mothers are not in constant need of maternity protection. That group of women whom this legislation is written to protect will still be protected by such special legislation. The amendment under consideration will in no way affect such special legislation, for the simple reason that it is not based on sex, but upon the special need of a given group under certain circumstances. The same is true of widows' pensions. Such pensions are written for the benefit of the child, and are being given more and more to whichever parent of the child survives, widow or widower. In Colorado the law already provides that such pensions shall be administered either by widow or widower. Is there any reason to believe that a needy widower should not have the same protection for the child that a deserving widow has? The final objection says: Grant political, social and civil equality to women, but do not give equality to women in industry.

Here lies the heart of the whole controversy. It is not astonishing, but very intelligent indeed, that the battle should center on the point of woman's right to sell her labor on the same terms as man. For unless she is able equally to compete, to earn, to control, and to invest her money, unless in short woman's economic position is made more secure, certainly she cannot establish equality in fact. She will have won merely the shadow of power without essential and authentic substance.

THOSE who would limit only women to certain occupations and to certain restricted hours of work base their program of discrimination on two points, the "moral hazard" to women and their biological inferiority. It is a philosophy which would penalize all women because some women are morally frail and physically weak. It asks women to set their pace with the weakest member of their sex. All men are not strong. Happily it has not occurred to society to limit the development of all men because some are weak. Would these protectionists be willing to say that because some men-members of the Cabinet had been suspected of moral frailty, no men should henceforth serve as Cabinet Ministers? This principle of penalizing the strong because some are weak, which has been abandoned by enlightened educationalists, now awaits rejection in the industrial field. Natural fitness, not "protection," will determine the extent of competition.

Dock work, dray work and coal-heaving are occupations open to all men, and yet no one has ever seen the weakest members of the species rush into these occupations. Women will be quite as sensible and adroit at avoiding work beyond their strength as men have been, once they have a free choice. What reason is there to believe that if tomorrow the whole industrial field were opened to women on the same terms as men, women would insist on doing the most menial tasks in the world, the most difficult, the tasks for which they are the least fitted? May it not rather be that men know the reverse will be true, which has led some labor leaders to rush to the banner of "protection for women only"? Furthermore, if this argument were sound, then obviously women ought to have all the delightful office jobs, ought to be relieved of such tasks as scrubbing floors in office buildings, and ought to turn over this work to the stronger male members of the species. If it is only their physical strength that stands in their way, they should abandon drudgery by day and baby-tending by night, and, with the greatest possible speed, become railroad presidents, bank presidents and other executive officers, whose weekly golf game is the chief physical tax.

No one really believes today that the morals of an adult grow stronger in the ratio that he is protected. Women as well as men become more responsible in the realm of morals only when all are free to behave according to the dictates of social conscience. And obviously, if the streets are unsafe at night for those women whose needs oblige them to work at night, the answer is most emphatically not to prevent women from earning their livelihood, but to make the streets safe for their coming and going.

BUT, it is argued, women are more easily exploited in industry than men. There are reasons for this outside of sex, not the least of which is the shocking neglect by men's labor organizations to organize women in their trades. When women first went from the home into industry, they carried with them, among other things, the psychology of unpaid workers. For as workers in the home they had always done the unpaid work of the world. They had their keep, but neither wages nor partnership profits. And so they shrank from asking adequate pay. They thought they should be grateful for being permitted to play in the big game at all. They were docile. They were exploited. Gradually they became bolder. Gradually they entered the better-paid trades and professions. Gradually they asked higher remuneration. It is only now that they are well on the road to matching their wits and their intelligences with men, that women are told they must be "protected." Protection is a delusion. Protection, no matter how benevolent in motive, unless applied alike to both sexes, amounts to actual penalization.

The Woman's Party is not an industrial organization and therefore does not presume to say whether workers shall work eight or four hours a day, or what wages shall be paid for such work; whether more leisure for the masses shall be got by legislation or unionism. In the best interests of women, it stands against restrictions which are not alike for both sexes, and which, therefore, constantly limit the scope of women's entry into the field of more desirable and better paid work. It believes that no human being, man or woman, should be exploited by industry. As firmly it believes that just so long as sex is made the artificial barrier to labor-selling, merit can never become the criterion of an applicant for a job.

WOMAN'S emancipation was delayed once upon a time while theologians debated the nature of her soul. Emancipation is still being delayed while good people debate with tender concern the strength of her body. There is nothing new in the biological argument. It has been brought forward, simultaneously with the moral argument, every time women have moved a step forward. Its ghost walked abroad when women asked to be permitted to speak in public; later, when they asked for an education; again when they asked to be allowed to enter the professions; and still more recently when they asked for the vote. The belief in woman's frailty, in spite of all the gray, spirit-breaking drudgery she has performed, is so profoundly woven into the fabric of a people's thought that it has to be challenged over and over again. It will be routed in the present controversy.

With each new gain, women become stronger, more robust, more competent and more useful members of society, and these ghosts vanish. Freer opportunities of self-expression have never damaged any group of human beings. No group of men or women was ever enlightened enough to tell any other group of men and women—much less an entire sex—what was best for them.

The National Woman's Party conceives women to be important, continuing, self-governing units of society. It conceives them to be possessed of talents and intelligences, of beauties and creative possibilities heretofore unfathomed. It proposes to do its uttermost to lift women from their present position of subjection and to put no human limits on the possibilities of their development.

Women In The German Parliament

By Lida Gustava Heymann

Editor's Note: Miss Heymann is one of the leading feminists in Germany. She was one of the leaders in the suffrage movement in Germany and since the winning of the vote has devoted herself to work to raise the status of women in Germany. She is also a leader in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and has been vice-president of the League for a number of years.

THE last elections for the German Reichstag have—I am sorry to say—again diminished the women members in Parliament. After the revolution of 1918 the German women got the same political rights as men. The first election brought 40 women into the House, the second 36 and the third only 29. All who opposed woman suffrage are very happy over this. They say: now it is proved that women are not fit for political life; they did no good there; their business is in the family.

But all who are able to judge know that the few women in the Reichstag during these years, 1919 to 1924, did splendid and generally appreciated work in Parliament and on all its commissions. The real truth as to why the number of women has diminished, men do not tell. It is nothing but the economic jealousy, the brutal egotism of the men in the different parties. To be a member of Parliament is today a business. The members are paid and very well paid. No men want women to take what they call "their business," especially when it pays well—and here, as everywhere, they use brutal force to push women out. The men are protected by the election lists and by the customs of the different political parties. In all parties men govern; they have constituted until now the majority in the parties; they are the masters; they give the names of their own sex for the first places on the lists and the names of women are given only for those places where they have little chance of victory.

THE Socialist party has 101 members in the Reichstag, and only 11 of them are women; the Deutsch Nationale Volkespartei has 96 members, and only 4 of them are women; the Centrum has 65 members, and only 4 of them are women; the Communist party has 62 members, and only 4 of them are women; the Deutsch Volkespartei has 44 members, and only 2 of them are women; the Democratic party has 28 members, and only 2 of them are women; the Bayerische Volkespartei has 14 members, and only 1 of them is a woman. The percentage in the extreme Nationalist party is the worst and in the Socialist party the best. But the average of all women in the Reichstag is only 6 per cent.

We wish that all men and women who think that woman suffrage should change the awful politics of the so-called civilized states in a day would realize that only 6 per cent. of the Reichstag is made up of women. Six per cent. are supposed to accomplish in a short time what all the men could not do in many years. It is very kind and nice of men to think so highly of women's ability, but it is a little too fantastic, especially in view of the fact that those women constituting 6 per cent., in their attempts to put things right more or less, meet the resistance of the men constituting 94 per cent. This percentage of 6 per cent. should open the eyes of women.

WHAT is necessary in order that German women shall have influence in public affairs? It is that they become 50 per cent. of the membership of the Reichstag. But this will only happen if they join together and vote for women. Men will never assist them. Women must rely on themselves.

Olympe de Gouges

By Joan Grayson

AMONG women who have fought for the freedom of women, Olympe de Gouges stands out as one whom women must always remember with grateful appreciation. In Winifred Stevens' "Women of the French Revolution" there is an interesting history of Olympe de Gouges. For those who may not have the opportunity to read the entire book, the following account is given, based upon Miss Steven's story:

Olympe de Gouges was the first of the women of the French Revolution to organize a feminist agitation. She was a woman, says Miss Stevens, who, though she changed her mind from time to time as to some articles of her political creed, remained from first to last a stalwart and loyal feminist. Michelet calls her "the High Priestess of Feminism."

HARDLY had the National Assembly taken up its quarters at Paris, in the Riding School of the Rue St. Honore, when, on the 28th of October, 1789, Olympe de Gouges, at the head of a deputation of women, laid before the Deputies a feminist program of reform, differing little from the program urged by leaders of the woman's movement in France today. It included complete sex equality before the law and the admission of women to all occupations for which they were fitted. In conclusion, Olympe de Gouges asked "why women, who from the sceptre to the crook are born to scatter flowers over men's lives, should receive from them in return nothing but chains, torment and injustice?"

Following this first deputation Olympe never lost an opportunity of speaking before the Assembly. At the same time, she was pouring forth innumerable feminist pamphlets and posting many of them on the boardings of Paris.

In her writings and speeches she claimed for her fellow-women educational advantages that had never been hers and demanded particularly that girls should receive the same education as boys. She also insisted always that all the political privileges enjoyed by men should be extended to women.

THE most celebrated of all her feminist appeals is her "Declaration of the Rights of Women" contained in a pamphlet addressed to the Queen and published in September, 1791. In the opening paragraph, Marie Antoinette was implored to win the gratitude of one-half of her subjects and at least a third of the other half by declaring herself the protectress of her sex and by furthering the recognition of their lawful rights.

The "Declaration" contains seventeen clauses. Following the form of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, it opens by declaring that woman is born free; then it adds: and "equal in rights to man." Sovereignty, she said in the "Declaration," resides in the nation, which consists of men as well as of women. Laws, she said, should express the general will, and women as well as men should have a share in framing them. Women, she contended, should be eligible for all public dignities, posts and employments, according to their capacity, and since women as well as men pay taxes, women as well as men should have the right to call to account the public servants whom they pay. In Article X of the "Declaration" occurs that famous phrase that even those who know nothing else about her always associate with Olympe: "Woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she should have the right to mount the platform."

From The Press

"Sauce For The Goose"

Camden, N. J., Courier, August 20.

"TWELVE men and two girls were arrested in a clubhouse near Blackwood, charged with disorderly conduct.

"All were found guilty by a justice of the peace.

"He fined the men $22.50 each, which they paid with a smile.

"He sentenced the girls to *thirty days in jail, with the alternative of getting out of the state and staying out for a year.*

"There was no difference in the degree of guilt between the men and the girls. All admitted to the same charge.

"Yet the squire, with the typical narrow attitude, punished the females of the party *ten times as much as he punished the males*—and for identically the same offense.

"He asserts, stoutly, that he wants to break up immoral parties in his baliwick.

"For that laudable stand, he is to be commended.

"There is a sure way for him to do it.

"And that is to *send the men,* as well as the women, *to jail for thirty days, giving them the alternative of leaving the state for a year.*

"Immorality is immorality, disorderly conduct is disorderly conduct—whether the commission of it is by men or women, whites or blacks, old men or young.

"The law was made for *all,* regardless of age, sex or race. When the law is administered it should be administered *to all alike* or it becomes pretty much of a stale joke."

Women Only

Colorado Springs Gazette, August 21.

MRS. BERTHA M. FOWLER, Colorado state chairman of the Woman's Party, writes in the *Gazette:*

"The New York *Herald-Tribune* is quoted as follows: 'The National Woman's Party washed its hands of the entire race of male politicians, and declared that in women only rested the hope of pushing the Equal Rights Amendment through Congress.' The truth is that 'the entire race of male politicians,' with a few notable exceptions, have washed their hands of the whole question of Equal Rights for men and women under the law. In the nature of the case, only women who realize the subordinate position of women under the law, in every relation of life, can be expected to make the emancipation of their sex the paramount issue. Logically, therefore, it is the policy of the National Woman's Party to secure the election to Congress of women, otherwise qualified, who will support the Equal Rights Amendment and a general feminist program."

Mutual Co-operation

Woman's Legislative Counsellor, Seattle. June.

"'IF women desire equality with men they should also go to war.' This is the gist of the plea of a writer, in the people's correspondence to one of our great dailies, advocating 'military training for women.' Evidently his experience in life has been short and narrow or he would know that what women do, and endure, during war, has no glamour that a male man should desire.

"Suffrage advocates were frequently and heatedly told that ability to vote carried liability to carry arms. The answer of one brave woman that 'she who bore soldiers might well be relieved of bearing arms,' has by this time percolated through the thickest of skulls.

"No one will deny that the man who goes to war serves his country not one whit better than she who stays by the home. At any rate men are not desirous of exchanging lots with women, even less so in war than in days of peace. In ancient Israel this principle was embodied in a law which clearly stated: They that stay by the staff shall share and share alike with those who go out to spoil. Most things worth doing require mutual support; therefore, unlike duties are nevertheless very decidedly equal."

Two Million Dollar Fund

Treasurer's Report

EDITH AINGE: *Treasurer*
NETTIE TRAIL: *Auditor: C. P. A.*

RECEIPTS of National Headquarters, December 7, 1912, to August 15, 1924, $1,264,865.11.

Contributions, membership receipts and other receipts, August 15, 1924, to Septber 1, 1924: (*Half of membership fees are retained by the State Headquarters. The half of these fees sent to National Headquarters are listed below*):

Miss Anna K. Stimson, Pa.	$100.00
Mrs. Stella Evans Farwell, La.	100.00
Miss Lenore Cawker, Wis.	100.00
Mrs. Jessie L. Collett, Pa.	50.00
Miss Grace Henshaw, Mass.	50.00
Mrs. John Jay White, N. Y.	550.00
Mr. and Mrs. Charles Boissevain, N. Y.	50.00
Mrs. Charlotte Ives Boissevain, N. Y.	10.00
Mrs. Kate C. Robertson, D. C.	5.00
Mrs. Cornelia Treuthart, Ohio	5.00
Mrs. Margaret H. Worrell, D. C.	15.00
Miss Mary E. Frayser, S. C.	10.00
Mrs. H. D. Bruns, La.	10.00
Mrs. Katharine E. Smith, Ohio	5.00
Dr. Ethyl H. Richardson, Ill.	5.00
Miss Martha I. Ijams, Cal.	5.00
Mrs. A. N. Dolbeck, N. Y.	1.00
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Mrs. Lois B. Rantoul, Mass.	1.00
Mrs. Anna B. Clark, N. Y.	1.00
Miss Christine Birrell, N. Y.	1.00
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Miss Clara Strauss, N. Y.	1.00
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Mrs. Henry M. Block, N. Y.	1.00
Miss Ella Strauss, N. Y.	1.00
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Miss Elizabeth Fairall, D. C.	5.00
Mrs. J. S. Laverty, N. Y.	1.00
Miss Mary Dubrow, N. J.	15.00
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Mrs. Tade H. Kuhm, W. Va.	5.00
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Mrs. Frank Manley, N. Y.	1.00
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Mrs. Annie Weatherwax, N. Y.	1.00
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Mrs. Evelyn E. Thompson, Ohio	1.00
Miss Helen Mishnun, N. Y.	1.00
Miss Florence Mishnun, N. Y.	1.00
Mrs. H. P. Smith, N. Y.	1.00
Miss Priscilla Flowers, N. Y.	1.00
Mrs. Julia Hurlbut Bissell, Okla.	50.00
Miss Virginia S. Hale, Cal.	1.00
Anonymous	2.75
Rent of rooms at Headquarters	36.00
Sale of books	24.00
Total receipts, August 15, 1924, to September 1, 1924	$2,137.75
Total receipts, December 7, 1912, to September 1, 1924	$1,267,002.86

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